/343 cont./

*796 627 them devotedly when the sacristan gave them to them. The latter also distributed the small baked clay dishes which had contained the offering of tallow for the illumination of the church to all those who had come.

As if on signal all left the church, the functionaries leading. The two new alcaldes and their wives squatted down in the courtyard before the church, where the Indians came in turn to embrace them or to kiss their hands while bowing low.

692 The Corregidor, who took office the same day, placed himself at the door of his house behind a table on which he had placed the Bolivian civil code of 1831 beside a bouquet of pinks, two silver drinking cups, and a bottle of eau-de-vie. One after the 692 other all the members of the tribe without differentiation by sex 576 came to do homage to him.

They began by bringing the hand to the mouth, then, bending their knees, lightly touching either the book of the edge of the table with a timid gesture. Still keeping their suppliant and frightened mien, they stretched their arms toward the Corregidor and toward his wife as if to throw themselves at their knees. They [273] next offered them alcohol in two twin drinking cups. /344/ The Corregidor returned the politeness and never consented to reach into the pouch of coca which was offered him without having his accepted in exchange.

An old woman who came late and could not find the Corregidor went to pay her respects to the stick of authority which the latter had left in his hut.

622 Meanwhile the Indians were joyfully dancing, led by the out- 535 going alcalde who was bizarrely accoutred for the occasion. He [282] had knotted a white and black sling around his body, from which hung skeins of little strings which covered him to the knees. He [301] had stuck flowers in his hat and tied on two large iris leaves, sold [824] at a high price by some passing Aymara, at the level of his forehead. [939] Brandishing his white banner, he led the troup of musicians and

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Chipaya

/344 cont./ white banner, he led the troup of musicians and dancers, stopping in front of each hut to obtain a tribute of alcohol for himself and his troup. In exchange for this gift he gave his momentary host the privilege of seizing the white banner and putting himself at the head of the dancers. The end of the day was only a succession of rounds and drinking which went on until complete exhaustion.

Brandishing his

622 535 [131] [313]

The second day. On the next day, noticing that all the Indians were going toward a particular hut, I in turn went. There I found about 30 individuals, men and women, squatting on the floor around the alcalde taking office, who was seated on a pile of cloth behind a table facing the door. He was holding his stick of authority in his arm and had bunches of flowers and a napkin full of coca in front of him. His physiognomy did not act in his favor; his ravaged, closed face was scarred with smallpox; his thick features, aquiline nose, and projecting chin gave him an air which was both cruel and bestial. I sat down next to the men immediately to the right of the host. All were keeping a profound, almost disturbing silence. At long intervals a man would rise to profer his bag of coca to the alcalde. The latter would take a few leaves from it and tender his own chuspa with a bored gesture. Others moved toward the table, took a pinch of coca leaves, some of which they left in front of the flowers, and swallowed the rest. The drinkers never forgot their libations directed, as were the offerings, toward the flowers on the table. On that day the chicha of maize and quinua, in exception to the rule, competed with the alcohol. It was served by the women in terra-cotta bowls. I had the opportunity to be present that afternoon at a scene, the significance of which remains a mystery to me. A man got up and greeted a young woman in the usual manner; /345/ she replied to his greeting and went to kneel at the head of the audience. The individual who had greeted her took the young woman's head and shoved it against that of a man squatting next to her. Several seconds later the young woman gave way to weeping identical to that with which the church had resounded the day before. Silence

622 [316] [312] [313] [169]

2:Méxaus--04 E-S (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 5924 Uru 5924
Cayapa-
Chipaya

/360 cont./

The orchestra, composed of two quenas players, two tarca (flutes with mouthpieces) players, and one drummer, played the airs reproduced on the opposite page /see p. 85/ at various times.

Shortly afterward the musicians got up to perform a dance, in which the alferez, his wife, and several others took part. Facing each other, they began by forming a circle around a glass of water put down by the Officiant. Immobile at first for a certain number of measures, they soon began to walk sideways in a circle in one direction, and then, /361/ at a sign from one of them, in the other direction. The dance ended as usual at the order of one of the players, who made a piercing sound with his instrument by stopping up all the holes at once. Soon all the musicians played the same note and the dance stopped. At other moments the tarka players formed in a row and advanced, made a half turn, and retraced their steps and performed evolutions by making volts around the circle of spectators. They carried out a series of directional changes from time to time with military precision. /Musical notation appears here./

The drum players did not respect the grouping followed by the flutists but revolved at the same time as the other musicians, i.e., when the latter had formed a circle, the drum players turned around them, and when the fifst outlined their one-step on the side, they turned in the direction indicated to the dance step. When the flutists were performing evolutions in a line, while changing direction, no precise placed seemed to be assigned to the drummer.

The dance step is a trotting walk on tiptoe allowing volts, the repetition of which is entirely left up to the dancer's initiative. These volts seem to be carried out successively in one direction and then in the other, after intervals of walking. The music, whose rhythm is difficult to make out, seems to constitute only an inducement to dance. In the course of the dance the dancers make gestures with their arms, which they hold apart from the body horizontally in order to bring them into a vertical position.

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Chipaya

/761 cont./

Of course the alferez and his wife, furnished with the white banners, their insignia of office, displayed especial zest /362/ and danced with still the more enthusiasm for being rather tipsy.

The Indians remained seated for hours, constantly exchanging civilities in the form of alcohol, coca, and cigarettes. The most frequent verbal civility consisted of uttering the word xal'al'a or xal'al'a alferez ("Hallelujah alferez"), which some member of the assembly

/367 cont./

*796 invocations to the mal'ku, the saints, and the samiri, the professional rezadores /"prayers"/ were notable for their assurance and their volubility. The alfereza and her infirm son busied themselves with seeing that no one was overlooked in the distribution of coca and alcohol. The wooden bowls were refilled and proffered to the alcaldes, who shortly afterward were fumigated by a woman. The latter repeated the same ceremony in front of the alfereza. During the entire time that she, kneeling, burned her incense, those who were the objects of this rite uncovered themselves with a meditative air.

*796 535 A dance, which I only saw on this one occasion (Pl. XIV, A /see p. 135/), was organized next. The women placed themselves in a row facing their husbands. Taking each other by both hands, all began to pivot without changing place. Men and women turned their upper torsos in an opposite direction each time. During this time the musicians walked around /368/ the line, playing in a very slow rhythm. Toward the end some dancers made a demi-volta and with back turned put the hand to the mouth. One of the dancers had put a dead young llama on his back, which he passed to his neighbor.

Toward the end of the day the alfereza and her son, with white banners knotted around their necks, took other participants by the hand and formed a circle inside the circle of musicians. After having turned around for a few seconds, the circle opened up and made itself into a chain which ran to one side, then to the other, and then reformed into a circle. One of the figures of this dance consisted in making a quarter-turn and bringing the hand to the mouth.

*796 Toward the end of the ceremony the alfereza and her son, accompanied by numerous other participants, surrounded the banner and prayed before it for a long time, while offering up libations; then some kissed the post, others the banner.

/377 cont./

Heated by the alcohol, some Indians danced distractedly across the village streets. These were the only manifestations which I observed during this festival.

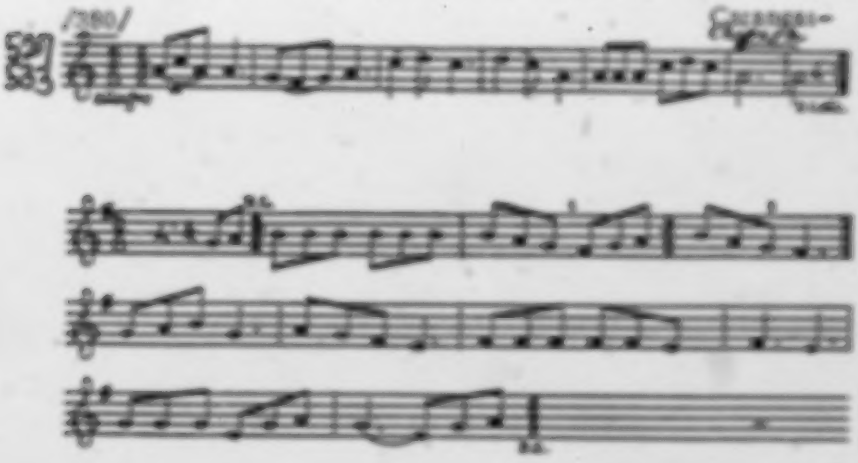
Pagan-Christian Practices to Obtain Rain.

At the end of January, as the sky remained implacably blue, the Chipaya feared a drought and the destruction of their pastures. After general deliberation they decided to have recourse to public prayers. These were made by all the children, who were obliged to fast during the morning and were then sent in a procession to the church to /378/ circle the cross facing the court in front on their knees. The same ceremony took place before the small chapel, whose steps the children ascended on their knees. A sheep was sacrificed on this occasion, and the four corners of the cross's stand were sprinkled with its blood. The meat /of the sheep/ was consumed solely by the children.

Carnival Festival.

Carnival for the Chipaya Indian is the festival par excellence beside which all the others are only pious duties. At Carnival /Figure 36 appears here/ /379/ although he observes some rites his aim above all is to drink and dance until he falls down dead drunk. If a few bloody scuffles with the people of the other saya are added to these amusements, his happiness is complete. Carnival is also the only leaven of activity for him, the only moment of the year in which his mind can rest with complacency and of which he thinks in terms of its sottishness and unconcern for the future. The prospect of being present at a festival which had been so much extoled was alone powerful enough to keep me in Chipaya beyond the time I had set. I had, however, every reason to feel deceived, and the Chipaya themselves showed me their disappointment in a not very successful carnival. Good intentions were not lacking but the alcohol, the precious alcohol, and the no less precious coca. The crisis which elsewhere was tossing up Latin American presidents was depriving the Chipaya of their outlets for the export of their cheeses and condemning them to celebrate Carnival by diluting their alcohol with water.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 110]



Thus costumed the Cipaya devoted themselves to the most monotonous of dances, the one which I described in connection with the festival of the samiri (p. 83). The circles broke up from time to time to form processions which, at a running pace, under the white banners of the alferez's, approached the neighboring saya or came to a halt before a hut whose owner offered drinks to everyone. Although the members of each saya preferred to dance on their own territory, visits to neighboring saya were frequent and sometimes led to a mingling which contrasted with the rigorous separation usually in force.

In a few huts belonging to some alferez's a table, transformed into an altar, had been set up with the consecrated sheaves of straw and the heads and feet of the animals slaughtered for the festival. Groups went there to offer up libations and to dip into the pile of coca placed before the victims' mouth.

The festival proceeded in this fashion for a whole week. At night the young girls would gallop through the village holding each other by the hand, singing their melancholy songs, and a few madmen offered up libations until dawn. The scarcity of alcohol did not allow suppressed passions to be unleashed, and I was not present for any of those brutal orgies in which the Aymara surpass themselves. They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and

Smithsonian--177 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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Chipaya

/165 cont./

In La Musique des Incas /The Music of the Incas/, R. d'Harcourt reproduces several similar flutes as well as straight flutes with mouthpieces of an identical construction. He was, unfortunately, unable to give anything more specific than "Bolivia" for the provenance of these instruments.

While examining the contents of one of the huts that the Cipaya use for storage, I had the good fortune to discover a flute with mouthpiece made from a wing bone of a condor (Fig. 8, G /see p. 173/). The block inserted in the opening is, as for the preceding flutes, made of wood, and it also has six holes.

If the mellow flutes with which we have been occupied up to here are locally produced, this is not the case with the pinkul's, another type of flute with mouthpiece which is of a more complicated construction although based on the same principle. The six holes are contrived on a slightly depressed surface which facilitates the play of the fingers. Figure 8, C presents one of these pinkul's, which I acquired on the frontier of Bolivia and Argentina. The Cipaya pinkul's are identical and without doubt come from some bolivian village. They abound in all the Aymara and Quichua markets.

The sola flutes with mouthpieces are often provided with a small rounded whistle near the mouth. Unfortunately I never had the opportunity to acquire a specimen of one, the owners of these prefered instruments always refusing to sell them to me.

The flutes with mouthpieces receive the name, in the Uro-Cipaya dialect, siku, a generic designation for "flutes." These instruments are basically used /166/ secular purposes and have no other end than to enliven festive days.

While there are very few Cipaya who know how to play the quena, almost all the men have a flute with mouthpiece and take part in the concert which is organized on festive occasions. The dancers accompany themselves on this instrument even while executing intricate figures. During a religious ceremony the Indians may also play a little melody from time to time while seated.

9:La Barre E-8 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

the *Aymara*, the Uru distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Pöle (1901) states that the Uru were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the Uru ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native kilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The Uru worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient Uru dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huaihlo or sun quirkilla, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main Uru fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimulo, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood over the entrance of each hut. Most of the Uru beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most Uru-Chipaya folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal trickster.

THE CHIPAYA

The Chipaya of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the Uru of the Río Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the Uru are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the Chipaya are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The Chipaya, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the Chipaya do

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

paper. Llama foetuses are burned in her honor, and whenever an Indian drinks he makes a libation for her. At the end of a feast, the Indians kiss the earth to show their devotion to her.

The maλku, next in importance, are represented by whitewashed cones of sod 3 to 4½ feet (1 to 1.50 m.) tall, set on low platforms in isolated and secret spots about 10 miles from the village. Each moiety has its own maλku which are worshiped on fixed dates.

The moiety samiri are calcareous stones of irregular shape which are kept in a stone-lined pit in the desert, hidden under a yareta plant. The cult of the maλku and that of the samiri follow the same pattern.

Every feast is sponsored by an alférez and his wife, who are the masters of ceremony. The high point is the sacrifice of the three animals on which the *Chipaya* depend for their subsistence: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. The officiating priest is a yatiri—a man who knows the religious prayers and how to prepare the libations to be offered. The blood of the victims is mixed with flours made of various kinds of maize and cast to the four directions. What is left is poured on the cones or samiri stones.

The libations are prepared in small cupulae and in small bottles, which are lined up in a set order. Their formulae are complicated and include a great many magic ingredients (chicha, "sevarios," that is, mineral powders of various colors, herbs, turquoise beads, gold and silver paper, etc.). The content of each cupula is poured separately with prayers to the Saints, the maλku, and Pachamama. Grease balls, with plants stuck in them, and candies are buried for Pachamama. Khoa, an odiferous resinous plant, is burned in special incense burners. Other objects such as grass bundles decorated with ceremonial slings, eggs, wreaths made of sliced fruits, and bread and cheese are displayed by the alférez and carried during the dances. The prayers and the material symbols always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the multiplication of the herds. The prayers, though directed to pagan deities, are often strongly marked by Christian elements. The day after a feast there is always a communal meal in the village during which the sacrificed animals are consumed and prayers recited.

Carnival is also a very important pagan feast celebrated jointly by the two moieties. The desired fertility is symbolized by huge wreaths of fruits and cheese hung from the church's towers and by the outfit of the dancers, who carry bundles of fresh grass, strings of blown eggs, dead ducks, stuffed vicuñas, and other objects. Dances to the sound of quenas accompany every feast.

Private cults.—When a house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood sprinkled against the walls and roof. On certain occasions, such as the return to the village after a long absence, a sheep is sacri-

tains; and the tower of the village Catholic church, which is regarded as a particularly powerful fetish and is known as *Mallcu Mayor*. The other *mallcus* are represented by small conical sod towers scattered around the countryside. Sacred stone fetishes or *samiri* protect the prosperity of the village; in the homes, a stuffed wildcat or hawk serves as a protective household spirit. When a new house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood is sprinkled on the roof and walls.

One of the principal fiestas comes on New Year's Eve. At Carnival time, an important fertility rite is celebrated; cheeses and other foods—symbolic of the desired abundance—decorate the church tower and the dancers.

The high point of the ceremonies in honor of the deities is the sacrifice of the three main animals on which the Chipayas depend: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. These will be eaten at a communal feast the next day. The officiating *yatiri*, or priest, offers the blood, mixed with flour, to the four directions, and pours it on the *mallcu* cones and the *samiri* stones. The prayers always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the increase of the herds. Alcoholic libations are offered, and much alcohol is consumed at the major festivals. The usual monotony of daily life is forgotten. Dancing goes on far into the night, as the slow, mournful music of the flutes and drums dispells for a while the grim, cold silence of this empty land.

[P. 22-C]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

female baby, little girl = uč-tukun-wawa, kun wawa, tukun-wawa šu; young girl = pax-pak-uš; young woman = ux.

Marriage. Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymára women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphipod* (*Hialella pallida*), transparent, and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Posnansky.

Political Organization. If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymára and colonial Spanish officials which is in effect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymará *hilacata*, commonly called *ilacate* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde?*) is called in Uru *čapsti* or *zoraturčički* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *čauk čapsti* ("big čapsti"). Squabbles with Aymára neighbors are led by the *hilacata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

Dances and Ceremonies. Bertonio[28] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 16th century which have since disappeared: the *huchhu* (*hučʉ*) or *sisa quirkitha* (*kirkiťa*), and the *chiy-chiy*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "gualquepos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimule," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *wilančа* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *ṗusiṗ'ia* and *ɋena* flutes are played at the dance of *Taurila* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "sabanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panisa" or "panasilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kawa* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimule" and "taurila" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

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[28] Bertonio, *Vocabylario* 2, pp. 84 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 103.